

NORTH WAZIRISTAN: WAR ON TERROR OR WAR OF CULTURES

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Abstract

From 1895 onwards, when British established their political control along the Frontier especially in Waziristan, this Northern Waziristan Valley alone has been the most violent and terrorist in nature, often erupting suddenly and then calming down. It has happened in 1898, 1915, 1936 and now again since 2005, this valley is in forefront receiving almost hundred per cent more Drone attacks as compared to any other valley¹. Thus fundamental inquiry is why it erupts and how it calms down. This paper examines the ongoing war from the theoretical, empirical and historical perspectives with a hypothesis that war is more engraved culturally rather than the politically based terrorism in North Waziristan and Militia is culturally more apt to tackle it than regular army.

Introduction

Pakistan has suffered the maximum in terms of human and material loss in the war,² despite the fact that it was regarded as the most intellectual to resolve the issue as observed by Magnus & Hopkins,(2012) ‘Pakistan army, which carried forward both the martial and intellectual traditions of the British raj, knew how best to handle the frontiersmen’³. The main theatre of operation against the terrorists is focussed along or in the adjoining tribal areas of Pakistan’s western frontier which runs along the crest of Hindu Kush Range. It is the Durand Line and the North Waziristan about whom President Obama remarked in 2009 as the most dangerous place in the world⁴. This most dangerous place is also known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) which comprises seven political agencies having over two dozen tribes inhabiting it⁵.

The very fact that some of these tribes have always been engaged in armed movement and others have always remained as state's ally since 1849, creates a phenomenon which is often interpreted as a unified action by the Pathan *Qaum* rather than as an isolated act of an individual tribe. The historical similarities are too identical and familiar to be overlooked. In 1936, a military operation was initiated in the North Waziristan Agency with a single aim to capture Mirza Ali Khan Tori Khel of Uthmanzais Wazirs known as *Fakir of Ipi* and it failed to do so till 1960 when Fakir of Ipi died of natural death with his grave still a mystery.⁶ In present time, the war primarily started with one single aim to hunt Osama Bin Laden, who again like Fakir of Ipi was believed to be hiding in the same agency)North Waziristan); he was finally killed in 2011 at Abbottabad, like Ipi his grave and death is still an enigma.

The existing literature on the subject matter can be divided into three major categories and themes, initially produced by British officials between 1830-1947, it conveys a Romance of Frontier. Secondly the American scholars had written with little empirical knowledge; relying solely upon the theoretical framework⁷ drawn upon the experience of Malay, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Middle East's asymmetric wars. This can be summarised as Pakistan is the hub of the international terrorism and bastion of militancy while Islam is the primary factor in the increase of violence all over the globe. Moreover, Pakistan military is supporting the militants especially with reference to the hiding and later killing of Osama bin Laden in May 2011 at Abbottabad. On the other hand, the conclusion of native scholars is towards highlighting the lack of infrastructure, facilities and education along with the misinterpretation of the Islamic teachings as the main cause; some of them have misinterpreted the culture, like Farhat Taj 'my own interviews reveal that sick relatives of all Taliban commanders continue to be treated at state expense at Islamabad...development projects are contracted to people closely linked with Taliban⁸. *Qaum* and *Riwaj* are two terms which have been overlooked; *qaum* conveys a sense of nationhood in which every tribe is identified with his clan

whereas the *riwaj* is the Magna Carta of these tribes. It is the misinterpretation of these two words which is the root cause of present and past violence. There is no compatible English (Western) definition for these peculiar cultural identities.

Culture and Civilization are two inherent overlapping threads which tend to explain a new paradigm as against Statist Paradigm of Classic Realist theory ' states are and will remain the dominant entities in world affair...states with similar cultures and institutions will see common interest' to understand the causes of human conflict. Samuel Huntington in his famous essay, Clash of Civilization? (1996) regarded Civilization as a combination of cultures, 'Most dangerous dimension ...would be conflict between groups from differing Civilization'⁹. The scholars have no unity in terms of numbers of Civilizations which exist or existed, they vary from seven to twenty four civilizations, 'Civilization have no clear cut boundaries' remarks Samuel Huntington.. Indus Valley Civilization is a matter of debate; Huntington has mistaken it as a Successive Civilizations namely Indian, Indic or Hindu. 'Probably one or more Civilizations emanated from Indus Civilization'¹⁰. Indus Civilization here means all those rivers and valleys which join the flow of Indus River water¹¹.

There is a disputation among the philosophers as to the definition of culture but they all agree that religion, common language, goals, values, aspirations, customs, all combine to bring forward a distinct identity. However, they have overlooked the historical bondages and geographical layout especially the importance of rivers in forming and keeping alive the identity. Nicola Machiavelli, a 14th century Italian, was the first one to debate the importance of 'Militia' in the national defence as against keeping a regular army, this he stated in his 'Art of War'. On the subject of war , another philosophical view expressed by Emmerich De Vatel (1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that 'regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides' and second principles govern 'whatever is permitted to one, because of the state of war, is also permissible to the other'¹².

Waziristan, an Aryan Civilization?

Wazirs are an ancient Pathan tribe. Aryans were fun loving people who were believers in a monotheistic deity. They lived in a close knit clan society where friendship was regarded as a sign of nobility and refusing alms to a needy person was looked down upon. Women were respected yet, they were not involved in the spheres of running the society. Intoxication through natural herb was an acceptable part of the society, Rig Veda mentioned a tribe by the name of Pakhta which is identified with present day Pathans.¹³ With the passage of time, all other Pathan tribes and even the Punjabi clans have been diluted of the Aryan culture with only North Waziristan retaining the original values; in this regard, the geography has been their key ally.

Waziristan was a name given to the area between Kurram River in the North to Zhob River in South, on the East the plains of Indus near Dera Ismail Khan and on West the Ghazna were the frontiers. Two major clans of wazir namely Uthmanzai and Ahmedzai inhabit it with majority in North whereas Mahsuds live in South Waziristan, *Qaum* is the proper word for tribe in local culture and it conveys the sense of a nation. Within Waziristan, the Aryan code of conduct is still visible, there are racial classes, Wazir are regarded as of upper and ruling tier, fighting men of the area. The language is Pashtu, but with a different dialect. Islam made its presence felt in the area after the defeat of the Turk and Chinese armies at the hands of Arabs in 751 AD. After the Aryan invasion (2000 BC) and migration, came the Greeks under Alexander the Great, followed by Saka, Huns, Yeu Chi and many other tribes descending down from Central Asia. Thus, present day FATA is a conglomeration of the bloodline of those and many others like Mongol, Mughal, Turk and Persian races who passed through these passes. These tribes are still following the old customs, traditions and above all, the laws known as Pakhtun Wali in which vendetta is cardinal aspect¹⁴, an enigma to modern day lifestyle.

The tribal society in Waziristan is primitive in nature, more akin to the early city states of Greece; democrats, without any hierarchical kingship, all Wazirs being treated equal yet racist in outlook as non Wazirs and non-Muslims especially the Hindus are not allowed to wear the turban rather a white skull cap is allowed to them¹⁵. There is no central hereditary power junta rather it varies from time to time. Polygamy is a common practice which becomes a necessity because of frequent feuds and war. There is no concept of population control rather a popular concept prevails that more are the children; the stronger the clan will be. Women are treated with respect and are seldom seen outside their walled compounds. Kidnapping or rape of females is a rarity. The practising religion is the Sunni sect of Islam, thus religious men attract great reverence but still there are no shrines, elders are respected, Jirga is the parliament of the clan where collective decisions are taken and are bound to be observed. Carrying and manufacturing of arms is a matter of pride and every tribe has a considerable amount of armoury including anti-aircraft guns, mines and field artillery; most of them were captured during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, (1979-1989).¹⁶

North Waziristan Agency (NWA)

Waziristan came into prominence due to Forward Policy after the annexation of Punjab in 1849¹⁷. Waziristan proved to be an enigma for the British as the settled districts of Dera Jats were constantly raided by the Mahsud distant relatives of Wazir. This gave birth to two distinct school of governance, 'Forward Policy' or open door favours interaction with tribes whereas 'Closed Border'; cuts off ties from tribes or Closed Policy¹⁸. This shuffling of policy or mind set is still in vogue.

Forward Policy created South Waziristan and North Waziristan Agencies in 1895, these agencies were directly under control of the Central Government at Calcutta and not the provincial government (Punjab and later North West Frontier Province (NWFP), NWA has an area of 4,707 square kilometres. Presently, population is 3, 61,246 (1998 census) an

annual growth rate of 2.46%. There are 192,432 males and 168,814 females in the agency, literacy rate being 13% among males and 0.5% among females. Population density is 77 persons per square kilometre only South Waziristan Agency has a lower density rate than NWA among the seven agencies (South Waziristan Agency (SWA) have an area of 6,620 square kilometres with a population of 429,841)¹⁹. The Uthmanzai Wazirs form 59% of population, Daur 39% with Mahsuds forming the remainder. There are 73000 Afghan refugees still living in the agency. Ibrahim Khel, Wali Khel and Mamit Khel are the three major Wazir Tribes with sub clans which includes Madda Khel, Manzar Khel, Tori Khel and Macha Khel of Ibrahim clan, Bakka Khel, Jani Khel, and Kabul Khel being part of Wali Khel clan, Hassan Khel, Khaddar Khel, Bora Khel and Wuzzi Khel are an integral part of Mamit Khel; all in all, there are 42 sub clans of Uthmanzai Wazirs in NWA. Daur tribe composed of four main clans. The agency is the heartland of Wazir with Daur as a protectorate clan, carrying on the agricultural work and paying a tribute to Wazir annually for protection. It was the Daur who requested and invited the Brits to take them under their protection in lieu of taxes; similar patterns took place in adjoining Kurram Agency where the Turi Tribe also requested Brits for protection in 1892. The Agency itself is along the Tochi River, having a length of 70 miles. Wazirs occupy the hills and the upper valley whereas the Daur are in plains and in lower valley. Both tribes have disputes over land whereas wazir clans are all blood brothers, the Daur are practically alone.

The contention, that is, lack of education in the agency which is the root cause of violence is negated by the fact that NWA surprisingly has 705 educational institutions out of which there are 405 primary, 67 middle, 31 high and 149 community based schools and one degree college at Miranshah having 814 students; there is one vocational college, one commerce college, one commercial college and one teachers training centre having 14 students. There are 40,000 boys and 20,000 female students in NWA area. Mir Ali has the highest number of schools for girls. The number of teachers in NWA exceeds 800 with 458 male and 401 female

teachers imparting education²⁰. It is obvious that Daur tribes have more inclination towards education as compared to Wazirs. It is through education that Daurs have disturbed the hereditary and centuries old ethnic structure. There were 250 Malakans in NWA in 2005²¹, except at Miranshah where the Daur have majority of malaks, Wazirs are overwhelming in number. Malaki system is not based upon the mere numerical superiority rather the strategic importance is the key factor, these malaks are nominated by the political agent, they receive annual allowance and subsidies. Before 1997, these *malaks* used to elect the member of national assembly however, now people elect them through votes

Religiously, North Waziristan is overwhelmingly a Sunni adhering agency, following Deoband school of thought or Wahhabis, King Saud of Saudi Arabia paid a state visit to Miranshah in 1953²². Thus Arab inclination towards this agency is no surprise. Agency also has the highest number of religious seminaries among all the political agencies; most notable are Idak Madrassa, Maulvi Saleem Gul of Spinwam, Haqqani Madrassa, Dande Madrassa and Degan, all less Idak are in Wazir control. People are intolerant of Shia faith adherents, there is no Imambargah in the agency except that of Tochi Scouts, every year in Muharram, a Lashkar is called to march towards Kurram (an over whelming Shia agency) to carry out bloodshed.

Military Cultures in North Waziristan, Army vs Militia

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, three distinct types of army cultures emerged, one based upon pure all British regiments known as British Army, second the British Indian Army having British officers but troops were natives, lastly the Sikh Army which comprised Sikh and Muslim troops and officers, along with newly raised native frontier irregulars; exclusively Peshawar and Mardan districts were transitioned into Punjab Irregulars and Frontier Force regiments (Piffers)²³. Pakistan Army's cultural and traditional roots thus lie in these British, British Indian and Sikh armies; built upon

the distinct culture of regimentation, strict discipline, bureaucratic in nature; where everything has to be in black and white and heterogeneous class composition having centralised command and control structure in the political agencies, the levies, militia, rifles and scouts were raised as military wings starting from 1878 when Khyber Rifles was raised. These were different in composition and organisation from regular army. In North Waziristan, the very first Levies were raised in 1895²⁴ which were upgraded to North Waziristan Militia (NWM) in 1900. Fundamentally, Levies comprised men from only one tribe or Tochi Valley (Daur) whereas Militia had Wazir and other Pathan tribes also. Militia had army officers in command who were all British, it also had native officers as well from regular army, on deputation.

Historical Fallacy

The year 1919 proved to be a decisive year when almost all Militias (Khyber Rifles, North & South Waziristan militias} revolted in varying degree against their officers because of Third Afghan War. The worst hit was North Waziristan Militia, which in 1922, was transitioned into Tochi Scouts, it now had more recruits from settled Pathan tribes like Khattak and Yousafzai²⁵.

Period between 1936 - 1947 is very interesting as no less than 30,000 British troops were deployed in North Waziristan to hunt one man *Fakir of Ipi*. It should be kept in mind that, at that period, British military needed every man to counter Nazism thus this deployment of such magnitude speaks for itself. *Fakir of Ipi* accidentally rose to fame due to the Islam Bibi affair in Bannu. From the onset, army took control of the operation, Ipi village was shelled and this ignited the Fakir of Ipi's own tribe Tori Khel. This period also gave an insight of two military cultures working together, one that of regular army with its heavy load of rules and regulations and other that of Scouts with practical and very little bureaucratic channels. There were accusation upon the Scouts of collaborating with the natives which were partially true, but

the overall efficiency offset these minor irritants. The conspiracy theories which have surfaced in post 9/11, especially in Pakistan in which it was alleged that Osama was an American proxy and the intention of Western world was primarily to make an ingress in the area to grab the mineral resources are nullified when Osama's hunt is compared to Ipi's, because at that time despite all the might of British, Ipi was never caught, therefore, the military culture of North Waziristan is not a new phenomenon. Tribes rallied around him not that they liked him or he was a chief but because the ingress and presence of army was disliked and same is happening now.

North Waziristan calmed down not gradually but suddenly when in post 1947 under the 'Operation Curzon' Pakistan Army vacated all the forward cantonments including Gardei and Razmak²⁶ thus area resorted to its pre 1895 status; only difference was that of additional roads and other infrastructure but, no person of army was allowed to stay inside the tribal area; scouts were exemption. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is another mile stone, not only it provides logical background to the much debated Forward Policy but also, it gives another insight into tribal mind-set especially of Tochi Valley. Tribes did not allow army to operate from their area but they wholeheartedly cooperated with scouts. For all practical purposes, there was no army inside the North Waziristan Agency till 2005. Peace prevailed in the agency for over fifty years without the presence of army, thus it gives credit to the theory that peace in North Waziristan is viable without the presence of army in it.

Causes of Violence in North Waziristan

The hypothesis, that violence in North Waziristan is linked with the presence or absence of army is best observed in the post 9/11 scenario. In North Waziristan, the operations between 9/11 till July 2005 were all conducted by the Tochi Scouts²⁷ with very few casualties; they were able to open up three inaccessible areas of Bangidhar, Kazha and Dwa Toi.

Due to operations in Afghanistan, majority of the Taliban migrated and took refuge in the North Waziristan; because they had common bloodline. Mere ordering the tribes to evict them was against the *riwaj*; initially there were no Taliban safe haven in North Waziristan, it was only after Army operations in South Waziristan from 2002 onwards that they shifted into North Waziristan. On 11th February 2004, the very first peace pact was agreed upon in a Jirga at Miranshah.²⁸

On 5th July 2005, army took the operational command of the agency thereby placing both the political agent and the Tochi Scouts under its command; the situation was normal by the agency standards. The agency was not under the grip of Taliban rather it were the local criminal gangs and shortage of electricity which were the major nuisance and menace. Americans carried out an operation against the Taliban in Lataka Narai on the night of 14/15th July in which 24 Taliban were killed; this incident triggered a chain of events because all of these dead bodies were later buried inside Pakistan territory. It coincided with the very first address of GOC 7 Division to Uthmanzai Jirga in which he gave 24 hours ultimatum to hand over the miscreants, somehow the timings of Jirga and American attack coincided with each other and fuelled rumours of collaboration between the two.

Starting from the night of 16/17th July 2005 and commencing on the evening of 20th July, three connected operations were carried out by army with multiple aims; show of strength, clear the area of unlicensed weapons and to apprehend any foreign miscreant. All three operations were conducted in the surroundings of Miranshah Fort. Nothing much was achieved, sixteen persons were arrested apart from nine light machine guns & one rocket launcher. Unnecessary resistance and the ensuing fire opened by the army resulted in the death of eighteen foreigners out of which five were women. This was the turning point in current war which ignited the agency. Thus, it was not the religion or the affiliation with Taliban rather a misjudged cultural act by the army which resulted in creating a Domino Factor.

Battle for Miranshah

In another unplanned act, Taliban took the control of the agency in October 2005 after eliminating the criminal gangs in a two-day operation. It was a critical stage where Miranshah and the whole agency was at stake, the army misjudged the timings and remained aloof from gang warfare, the political agent, being under army command, was unable to use his own military might, the Tochi Scouts. Taliban, not only eliminated the gangs but in the process, won the heart and minds of the natives. Army tried to wrest the initiative from Taliban by establishing a post at Hassu Khel in December/January 2006. This post was established by Tochi Scouts on army instructions without consulting the political agent or administration. Flouting the *Riwaj* and despite the warning from the tribe, the army persisted on the post, consequently the complete post was wiped out by the tribe. Army now had to call upon the air force as a show of force. The second peace pact between the army and the Taliban was signed in September 2006, it was a continuity of the history but where it differs from the past is in the fact that in 1936 campaign, the control was handed back to the political agent after the peace accord but it was not followed here in 2006 with army still retaining the operational and political control of NWA.

There was no set day for the move of military convoy but one of the conditions of the Taliban was that army should fix one particular day for road movement as it causes inconvenience to the public. On 31st March 2008, political administration started working again in Razmak.

It was the Khassadar pay which ultimately set the course of collision among the various stakeholders of the agency. At end of April 2008, Khassadar went on strike, jirga reminded the political agent that that it was part of the peace pact to pay the Khassadar pending pay. The issue looked minor with Khassadar demanding seven months of pay and Political Agent willing to pay only four months as balance was beyond his financial ceilings. Regarding CD's shops they were demolished by Taliban in Miranshah on 3/4th June 2008, a

total of 12 shops were destroyed. Shaving of beard was banned and any barber caught doing so was punished; same was the case for drug sellers and consumers. Army viewed every step and move of Taliban as a challenge to writ of the state.

Two Military Cultures – Army & Scouts

Back in 1936 when the insurgency started in Waziristan after the Islam Bibi affair, at that time Tochi Scouts was also put under the operational control of army²⁹, the political control of the agency was also handed over to the army; similar actions were taken at this time also. Frontier Corps and army had two distinct military cultures and both had seldom worked together for long duration. Majority of the scouts less officers had very little knowledge about the way of army working and same was the case among the army jawans. One of the scouts narrated that, in initial days, he was uncomfortable with the presence of army. One key reason was the lack of communication between the two. Scouts invariably speak Pashtu which very few in army ranks and even less in officer cadre understand. A scout, irrespective of his rank, always shakes hand with the visitors irrespective of his rank, would offer him tea and since he is not that proficient in Urdu thus his vocabulary was very informal in addressing the seniors. In case of army it is other way around where it is the prerogative of the senior to offer his hand for handshake. In army, all company commanders are invariably officers preferably a field officer (Major) but in Tochi Scouts or for that matter in Frontier Corps (FC) the companies are commanded by Junior Commissioned Officers (JCOs); which is a very powerful and authoritative rank. The concept of *Qaum* is another enigma for the army; *qaum* tend to live, train, eat, fight, obey, disobey and die together, this is more powerful than the esprit de corps, on which army life thrives.

Scouts life pattern is also different from army; his sense of motivation and pride centrally revolve around the pride of his *Qaum* more than his sense of unity with Wing whereas in army, the battalion is the real pride. Scout is very demanding and vocal in terms of his right of ration and leave.

Professionally in the contest of Frontier Warfare, a scout is more professional, his body muscles are more tuned to mountain marches, climbs, descends and use of ground than an army jawan. An army jawan has the edge in technology; he has a broader outlook, is more educated and above all, has better equipment. Their fables, proverbs, heroes, folklore, songs, dances all differ from each other. They are familiar with every village, smaller and large. They know the culture, *riwaj* and traditions of each tribe and village. An army unit seldom interacts with civilians thus to them, there is no such thing as *riwaj*. Frontier Scouts way of warfare is medieval in cultural aspect which is in frequency with the adjoining environs; army on the other hand, represents modern times. Over passage of time, army has become more technological in outlook in line with the requirements of future warfare.

Conclusion

Pakistan Army also launched the much awaited Operation Zarb-e-Azb in July 2014, after the killing of its troops in a road side bomb blast near Miranshah; (rationally it was not taken as a step to sabotage the peace talks but as an act of defiance by the whole agency) with an aim to cleanse the agency and more important to finish the operation till the elimination of last terrorist, it has been able to make steady success gradually. In North Waziristan, the insurgencies although driven by religion are never really sparked by any political motivation, rather chain of events became the main factor. Most logically, the Wazirs will insist upon the withdrawal of army from the agency and if history is to be kept in mind, another Operation Curzon will be carried out; let it not be forgotten that there was peace in the agency after the Operation Curzon. Armies, all over the world, have distinct culture of their own; a kind of Civilization independent of geography and Pakistan army is no exception. This military culture is modern, adheres to rules and regulations, treaties and pact another parallel military culture is the Frontier Corps of Militia& Scouts, which is more aligned with culture of North Waziristan and matters in North Waziristan should be

handled by them and the political agent; as they have been doing in the past .

Notes

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Drone_Strikes_in_Pakistan#2013

² Brigadier Sajjad Ahmed, 2012, *Terrorism and Extremism in Pakistan post 9/11 reappraisal and the way forward*, { M.Phil. Thesis, , p-92, National Defence University, Islamabad. Till 2012, a total of 37,888 casualties including 3974 security forces, 11,809 Civilian, and 22105 insurgents. Also see Dr Khan Muhammad 'ISAF, Afghanistan & Pakistan; Challenges and Opportunities', *Marghalla Papers Islamabad,2012*.

³ Magnus Marsden , Benjamin D.Hopkins *Fragments of The Afghan Frontier*, {Oxford, Karachi, 2012},p-5

⁴President Obama's remarks on a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, White House office of the press secretary, 27 March 2009, www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-o..

⁵ Durand Line is 1,640 miles long, agreement was signed on 12 November 1893. FATA have an area of 10,510 miles.with a population of 3.1 million{1998 census} . Till 1947, there were only 4 political agencies in the NWFP. Namely Khyber, Kurram , South and North Waziristan Political Agencies. Bajaour, Mohmand and Orakzai were raised between 1960-1980. Lutf ur Rehman, *Durand Agreement; its impacts on Bajaour, Chitral, Dir and Swat*, {M.Phil Thesis}, National Defence University, Islamabad, 2011. <http://111.68.99.107/libmax/opac/index.aspx>

⁶ Fakir of Ipi's grave is at Gurweikht, western end of Tochi valley inside a cave but no funeral was ever held at time of death and even exact location is uncertain.

⁷ Eamon Murphy *Making of Terrorism in Pakistan, historical and Social Roots of Extremism*,{Routledge, New York, 2013}, p-5.

⁸ Farhat Taj, *Taliban and Anti Taliban*,{Cambridge Scholars, UK,2011},p-5., p-71.

⁹ Samuel P. Huntington *The Clash of Civilisations and The Remaking of World Order*{Penguin, New Delhi,1997}. The original article was published in the summer of 1993 in journal *Foreign Affairs* under the title *Clash of Civilisations ?*, it stirred up more discussions in three years than any other article published in journal since 1940.

¹⁰ Samuel Huntington *The Clash of Civilisations*, p-44.

¹¹Arya Desh was the name of India, Northern Tribes call it India or Hindu as noted by Hsin-Tu in 7th AD, seeThe discovery of India, Jawaharlal Nehru/John Day ,New York,1945],p-63.Chinese called India as Shin-Tu

see James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms The Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India & Ceylon AD 399-414*, (Oxford, 1886), p-26. also see Jhon Keay *History of India* (Grover, New York, 2000), p-57, word for river in Sanskrit is Sindhu.

¹² M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

¹³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume 1, Indian Empire Descriptive.* {Oxford, clarendon, 1907-1909} pp.360-370.

¹⁴ *Qabaili Rasm or Riwaj*{tribal traditions} an unpublished draft of Kurram Agency tribal agreement dated 29th July 1944, Political Agent archive, Kurram Agency Parachinar. It is identical with the *Mahsud Monograph*, compiled in 1980 by the Political Agent South Waziristan Agency, a former army captain, Mr Omar Afridi, copy at Thall Scouts Library , Thall Fort.

¹⁵ Political Agent Report North Waziristan Agency 1901,p-5-6, Official document, Tochi Scouts Archives, Miranshah.

¹⁶ During 2001, Tribal war between Madda Khel and Mohmit Khel, both used artillery and land mines. *Tochi Scouts War Diary*, Miranshah Archives.

¹⁷ Major H.G.Raverty The Afghan Wazirs and their Country in The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record, Volume IX, Nos 17 and 18, January – April 1895 (Oriental University Institute, Woking,) page 153.,

¹⁸ Magnus Marsden & Benjamin D.Hopkins *Fragments of The Afghan Frontier* ,{Oxford, Karachi, 2013},pp,69-73

¹⁹ Tochi Scouts *Analysis of the FATA, 2011*. Study Period conducted on 5th September 2011 at Miranshah.

²⁰ Development Plan presented by Tochi Scouts in March 2002.

²¹ Tochi Scouts *Study Period*, p – 114. Political Agent , *Record of Malaki*, Miranshah, unpublished.

²² Tochi Scouts *Visitors Book and related instructions of visit*, Miranshah Archives.2012.

²³ Timothy Roberts Moreman “*Passing It On The Army In India & The Developmental Frontier Warfare 1849 1947*.{Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy}, King’s College, University of London. pp. 20-25

²⁴ *Border & Administration Report for the year 1895-1896*, Political Agent Archives Miran Shah. Unpublished.

²⁵ *North Waziristan Militia War Diary*, unpublished, official, Tochi Scouts archive, Miranshah.

²⁶Captain A.R. Siddiqui (correspondent of Civil & Military Gazette) quoting Brigadier Ayub Khan, article published on 5th February 2005, in Dawn Newspaper.

²⁷ In 1922, the nomenclature of North Waziristan Militia was changed to Tochi Scouts, *Tochi Scouts Standing Orders 1922*.

²⁸*Political Agent Political Diary for 2004*, unpublished, Miranshah Archives.

²⁹Political Agent, North Waziristan , *Official Record, 1935-1936*, unpublished.